1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

hand there was no sexual relationship between a man and his own sisters nor a woman and her own brothers.

Now, all matters associated in any way with cohabitation, reproduction by the woman, menstruation, and so on, were regarded as contaminating in association with beings, things, or activities that were characterized as *tapu* or sacred. The logical result, therefore, of the marriage system in which the sisters of a man's wife and the wives of his brothers were also the man's wives, and the brothers of a woman's husband and the husbands of her sisters were also the woman's husbands—and of the religious system, in which all things associated with cohabitation and reproduction were contaminating—was that in all ceremonial matters the relatives that were called upon to take charge of the child were those close relatives, who could not have mutual sexual relationships—in other words, who were not spiritually contaminating to the child because of sexual contact or connection in any way with his parents or potential parents. It was the mother's brothers, who had no sexual relationship either with the mother or the father, and the father's sisters, who had no sexual relationship with the father or the mother, who had entire charge of the child in all of the numerous rites that were performed for it.

Concomitant with the relationship and rule of *tapu*, under discussion is the institution of cross-cousin marriage, which was the most approved type, though not obligatory. A person could not marry the child of a paternal uncle or a maternal aunt, because this child was regarded as full brother or sister. On the other hand, since a man could not marry his brother-in-law nor a woman her sister-in-law, the child of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt was sure not to be a full brother or sister, but a first cousin. To the native of the Marquesas, full brother and sister marriage was too close and so prohibited. But first cousin marriage was most approved, in general, for social and economic reasons, since it kept the family together as a unit and did not require the distribution of its property.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Birth Rites

There were a number of *tapu* intended to protect the mother and her unborn child during the period of her pregnancy. Most of these had to do with what the woman ate. The pregnant woman had to be protected also against the influence of evil spirits. It was for this reason that her husband stayed with her in the birth house during the time preceding birth. Other regulations were made, evidently to protect the unborn child from evil influence emanating from unclean things. Garcia (14, p. 74) says:

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

spread upon the ground and another piece is thrown over the person to be delivered."

The umbilical cord is said never to have been cut with a knife, but either to have been bitten in two by a female relative of the mother or to have been torn apart by the mother with her hands—she was not allowed to bite it. Other informants say that a bamboo knife might be used, but that a metal knife was *tapu*. Neither the cord nor the placenta were allowed to touch the child immediately after birth, lest it contract leprosy through contact with the mother's blood. The cord attached to the child's navel was left long, wrapped on itself, and tied in a knot. Every day when the child was bathed, the attempt was made to sever the cord at the navel with the finger nails until finally it came off. Sometimes it was simply left to fall off of its own accord. According to some accounts it was attached to a tree belonging to the child or it was placed for safe keeping in a coconut log or a chest in the house.

Immediately after the expulsion of the after-birth the mother went to the stream and washed herself and the child. The child was ducked several times, the mother putting her hands over its mouth and ears. When she came out of the stream, she sat upon a sun-heated stone. (It will be seen later that the effect of heat was also utilized in the attempt to stop excessive menstrual flow. Compare also the use of a hot stone in connection with the healing of the wound after incision of a boy's foreskin—see Rites of Childhood. It is to be noted also that, following delivery, a woman could eat only hot food.) Immediately after the woman's bath, her husband had sexual intercourse with her, in the stream according to one informant, or in the birth house upon her return, according to others. In the native mind, the purpose of this was to stop the flow of blood and cause the womb to resume its natural position and condition. A man had sexual intercourse with his wife at times of excessive menstrual flow with the same purpose in mind.

The placenta *(pufe'efe'e)* was buried in deep mud. It was never buried in dry earth, for, according to the native belief, if the placenta dried up, the child would lose vitality and die. Sometimes the afterbirth was merely put into the water and allowed to drift away.

Announcement of Birth

When a male child was born, the grandfather or grandmother announced the birth from the platform of the dwelling with a cry, such as *"To'u moupuna te tama oa."* (My offspring is a boy). People then gathered around to hear whether the child had been adopted or was to remain in

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

been made of breadfruit bark. The *hami tata taka pu* was one worn with the tail on one side of the body instead of behind. 291

WOMEN'S WAIST CLOTHS

Ka'eu (*kareu, keukeu, eu'eu*) was the usual term for the waist cloth of a woman. Other terms for simple waist cloths were *kaka ahi* (8), *taka ko'oi, taka pu,* and *piti'i ko'oi.* Waistcloths were sometimes worn as skirts, and sometimes drawn up between the legs like a *hami.* Garcia (14, p. 135) describes the *ka'eu* as "a kind of little apron which surrounds the loins and descends to the knees." On the other hand, Krusenstern (16, p. 158) speaks of them as being "drawn up like [the loin cloth] of the men between the thighs." *Eu'eu pipi* or *eu'eu ku'uhua* were perfumed waist cloths worn by women at festivals. *Ka'ioi* girls dyed these yellow with *ena.* The *eu'eu tukua* was a waist cloth made from the bark of the young banyan (*hiapo*). Very long waist cloths were known as *pahuka* or *pa'aha eu'eu* (8).

Noku, or *no'u,* was cloth of great length—sometimes as long as thirty or forty yards—in which women wrapped themselves as festival costume, or with which children honored at festivals were girded. A pleated skirt reaching to the ankles and held out from the hips on a hoop was used as a dancing costume. The term for this is unknown to me.

On Nuku Hiva *takahi* was the cloth used by a woman at the time of menstruation—on Hiva Oa this was called *ka'eu.* It was made of coarse brownish cloth beaten from the bark of twigs of the banyan tree. Between monthly periods unused cloth was kept wrapped in fau leaves and tied with fau bark. When worn it was cut in a small square, folded and held between the legs without any artificial support, and after use it was buried. 841

ROBES—KAHU

Generically *kahu* refers to sheets of *tapa,* specifically to several forms of dress made of such sheets. As worn by women, two corners of the sheet were passed around the neck and tied over one or the other shoulder, leaving the opposite shoulder and sometimes the breast bare. The margins of the cloth being left free below the shoulder over which the ends were tied, exposed most of that side of the body. By men the corners of the sheet were tied in front of the neck, the cloth hanging over both shoulders as a cape or robe. The common, every-day robe of women was of cloth made of breadfruit (*mei*) bark. Festival dress (*kahu*) was of fine white cloth made of paper mulberry bark. Young girls who were *ka'ioi* soaked the white cloth in scented coconut oil mixed with yellow *ena.* Robes dyed and perfumed in this way were called *kahu pipi, kahu pani,* or 291

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

men, from fifteen to twenty. Within these limits fall the more or less definite statements of such early writers as Garcia, Desgraz, and Berchon, Porter interpreting the time as "when they are able to bear the pain." All imply—and Krusenstern (8, p. 155) definitely states—that the beginning of the operation was connected with the period of adolescence. Berchon (1, p. 113) tells us that pregnancy would hinder the success of the work and that it was never undertaken for a woman when she was in that condition, from which we may again infer that the coming of puberty was the time for starting the bodily decoration. There seems at the present time to be no definite connection in the mind of the Marquesan between the two, and the fact that tattooing was practiced during the growing or maturing season of the land just before harvest-time seems also to have no significance at present. However, the celebrations associated with the harvest and with the completion of the tattooing of the adolescent youth of the land were united in a great *ko'ina* or feast. It may be remarked, too, that there is at present no indication that important times in the life of the individual, other than adolescence, were the occasions for tattooing, although Langsdorff, in a description of the *enata* design, says that it was put on when an enemy had been killed or eaten (10, p. xv).

As has been stated, preparations for the tattooing of an *opou* began with the raising of pigs and planting of *ute* for gifts and payment for *tuhuna* and *ka'ioi*. Several days before the beginning of the operation, the father announced that the *oho'au tiki*, or special house for the occasion, was to be built. About one o'clock on the morning on which the erection of this structure was to take place, two great drums (*pahu*) and two small ones (*hutu*) were beaten on the public festival place, to declare the beginning of the *tapu* and to summon the *ka'ioi*. These, usually from forty to eighty in number, immediately gathered at the festival place and together proceeded, under direction of the *tuhuna*, to raid the place of the *opou's* father. They demolished his houses and those of his relatives, with the exception of the sleeping houses; they seized not only material for the building of the *oho'au*, but that for making tapa, or the tapa itself in the event of its already having been made. Enough pigs and other food, sufficient to last for the entire period of the operation, its length depending upon the sickness of the *opou*, were taken for the feeding of the *ka'ioi*, *tuhuna*, and all those who were to stay in the *oho'au*. Not only was the father of the *opou* the victim of this *fao* or seizure of food, but also his father's sisters and even other relatives of the father and mother, if the duration of the operation was extended; and it was these relatives who cooked the food during the entire time.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

the delivery, sometimes on the house platform, sometimes at a distance. If the birth took place in the regular dwelling house, the house would be considered defiled and would have to be burned. The father assisted at the birth if necessary. There were no midwives, for it was believed that malevolent spirits were present at this time and women were afraid to go near. In extreme cases, the man would massage the abdomen, or get on top of the woman, holding her by the shoulders and pressing down to facilitate the birth. Immediately after delivery the mother severed the umbilical cord, biting it off or working it off with her fingernails. The father then took the afterbirth and buried it in a wet place, for if it were buried in a dry place the child would not thrive. The mother then took the child to a stream and dipped it under the water three or four times. The average stream, it may be remarked, ran down from the mountains icy cold. The mother next bathed herself, and immediately after this, the household head had intercourse with her, the idea being to restore the uterus and other organs to their proper position. (This was also done in cases of prolonged menstrual bleeding and was considered a prophylactic measure undertaken for the sake of the women, though menstrual blood was considered unclean.) The child was then fed with chewed shrimps and cocoanut milk. No swaddling clothes were used. The infant was simply laid on bark-cloth, not on the bed but on the stone floor inside the house. The bark-cloth was changed from time to time as needed.

The child was bathed twice a day up to the age of three or four years, after which bathing was less formal since the children were in and out of the water all the time anyway. Marquesan children often learn to swim in shallow pools before they can walk. The natives are unable to imagine anyone being unable to swim. There have been cases in which whites were allowed to drown simply because it never occurred to the natives that the men couldn't swim and that the fuss the unfortunate whites were making was anything but a joke.

At the time of the birth a feast was given, at which the household head was presented with a pig in recognition of his

/6 cont./

detail, some caution must be exercised in using these data to determine the amount of miscegenation which has occurred. These figures for individuals of mixed ancestry only represent those which are readily apparent or are first generation descendants of marriages between Polynesians and non-Polynesians. Furthermore, these figures represent only the results of legitimate or at least widely-known unions. 161 119

Unfortunately, a breakdown of these figures as to the proportions of the sexes is not available, but information on this point was obtained from the previous (1951) census which showed that population was composed of 50.4% males and 49.6% females. The porportions of children to adults in 1951 was: adults, 39%; children, 61%. 162

/7/

The Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The state of pregnancy (vehine kopu tama) is diagnosed by the obvious physiological changes: cessation of menstruation, changes in breast size, and swelling of the stomach. The role of semen in impregnation is quite well understood. After coitus, women who are attempting to become pregnant will lie on their backs, drawing up their knees to facilitate the flow of the semen (teatea) into the uterine opening. The role of the female in procreation is naturally not so clear. It was stated by one informant that the semen combined with vaginal fluids to produce a child. 843 842

Much folklore surrounds the relationship of menstruating (mate meama) to chances of impregnation. It is widely believed that the best part of the menstrual cycle of achieving conception is that period immediately following the cessation of the menstrual flow, while the period for avoiding conception is described as the days midway between menstrual flows. This erroneous division of the menstrual cycle into "safe" and "unsafe" periods was often attributed to information obtained from a fundamentalist Protestant missionary couple who resided 841 842 [997]

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in the Marquesas several decades ago. Therefore, it is doubtful whether this is an aboriginal concept.

During pregnancy, woman's work continues as usual, with 843 relatively little relief until advanced stages have been reached. In the Marquesas, /8/ many heavy household chores fall to [462] the women, such as hauling firewood, sacks of breadfruits, lifting and weighing copra, etc. With tasks of this nature, it is not infrequent that spontaneous abortions (tama topa, hanaua) occur. Should these occur early in pregnancy, it is doubtful whether they would be recognized as such. During a five-month residence in the valley of Hatiheu, my wife was called upon to treat two young women who were continually manifesting symptoms of premature labor as a result of their stubborn refusal to restrict their economic activites. The main cause of their continued episodes (which finally resulted in the loss of one of the fetuses) was lifting of heavy burdens.

In producing spontaneous abortions, the taxing nature of [492] the tasks which are viewed as "woman's work" is aided by the major mode of transportation in the Marquesas -- horseback riding. In one instance we were awakened at midnight to treat a girl who had begun to have labor pains and a bloody discharge in her home valley some 5 miles distant, and had immediately mounted a horse and galloped to our door, without any thought that the gallop might be injurious.

Native remedies are available for stopping spontaneous [757] abortions, but their efficacy is doubtful. It is interesting to note that the frequency of spontaneous abortions must have been marked in aboriginal times, as there was a proliferation [776] of gods and goddesses who had charge over abortions.

/9/ Abortions (ha'a topa ite tama) are seldom induced, 847 as children are highly valued, a point which will be discussed [858] at greater length below. No Marquesan female informants admitted to inducing abortions, and no specific cases were ever heard of from males. Abortifacients were commonly